1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

622
301 to the reigning chief. The others were formerly also property of the chiefs, but are said to have been given as rewards of merit to the most
[727] successful leaders in the Tiribi war. The two belonging to the chief, as
[422] well as one belonging to the descendants of one of those warriors, all represent birds. The people call them eagles. The largest is between three and four inches across; the smaller of the chief's two, is double-headed. In connection with these "eagles" another royal emblem might
293 be mentioned. It is a staff of hard black palm wood, over four feet long.
622 The top is carved in the shape of an animal, not unlike a bear sitting on
[532] his haunches. But there are no bears in this country, and it must have been intended for some other animal. Below this figure, the stick is square, and is carved out into four pillars several inches long, with spaces between them. In the interior, between them, is a cavity in which a loose piece of the same wood can be shaken about. It was evidently left there in the carving, after the fashion of the Chinese. Below this, the stick is plain. I tried every means in my power to obtain this, but could not buy it.

525 Games of chance or of skill are equally unknown, and even when brought into contact with civilization, they do not seem to take kindly to gambling. In fact, they have so little to win or lose, and that little is so easily obtained, that the inducement does not exist.

262 Their food is simple in material and there is but little variation in the manner of preparation. Of meats, besides chickens, they have beef and pork,
[251] which are however rarely used except at feasts. They know nothing of salting meat for future use and can only consume one of these animals when a large number is together. Besides the scarcity of beef is so great that probably no Indian possesses more than one or two animals at a time.
[229] Wild meat, like peccary, red monkey, (the other species are rarely eaten,) tapir, tiger, even otter, armadillo, and some other small animals are oc-
[251] casionally shot. In this case, all of the meat that is not eaten at once is dried as hard as a bone, and perfectly black, in the smoke of a slow fire. Larger species of birds like curassow are also treated in the same way. It is an interesting fact, universally attested, that the bones of this bird are absolutely poisonous to dogs, while the meat, though tough, is not unpalatable and is perfectly innocious to man. After a meal it is the never-failing custom to gather all the bones carefully, and either burn them or place them out of reach of the dogs. I do not know whether the flesh would be equally dangerous, though I doubt if it was ever wasted on a dog. This property is said to be due to some fruit or seed they eat. Of vegetable food, plaintains are the staple. In times of scarcity, bananas take their place, besides being eaten raw when ripe. The Indians also occasionally eat a raw ripe plantain, although they are coarse
252 and the flavor is inferior. The methods of preparation are, roasted green, when they make a poor substitute for bread; roasted ripe, when they are eaten with chocolate, with the idea of sweetening it. They are also boiled green, with meat, with green corn, or even alone. Ripe plan-

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

tains boiled and mashed, are mixed in equal quantities of corn-meal paste to make chicha, or to bake in cakes. They are also, when ripe, boiled, mashed into a paste, and mixed with water into a gruel. This is drank under the name of *mish'-la*. Maize is raised in considerable quantities, and this really involves four-fifths of all their agricultural labor. The corn is of a variety of colors; white, yellow, red, purple, blue, and almost perfectly black. Sometimes the ear, rarely more than six or seven inches long, is of a uniform color, but more generally the grains are of two or more colors. It is boiled green and eaten from the cob, and is thus considered a great delicacy. It is, when ripe, ground for all other purposes. The process of grinding is rude and simple in the extreme. If possible, a stone, three feet long and two wide, with a flat upper surface, is procured. In default of this, a broad slab of wood is used. For this purpose, a piece cut from one of the plank-like buttresses of the Ceiba tree is procured, and one side dressed smooth. The remainder of this primitive mill, is a stone, about a foot or fourteen inches long, a few inches less in width and three or four inches thick. One side must be regularly curved. The corn, soaked over night to soften it, is placed on the flat surface and the stone last mentioned is rocked on its edge, from side to side. This is always done by the women. When the corn is sufficiently ground, the paste is put into an iron pot and boiled to mush. If it is intended to make cakes, a part of the raw paste is mixed with an equal quantity of boiled ripe plantain paste, to sweeten it. It is then rolled in plantain leaf and baked in the ashes. When the paste is boiled, sometimes a part of it is separated, thinned to the consistency of gruel, and drunk hot. If it is intended to make chicha for the road, the thick mush is at once mixed with an equal part of ripe plantain paste as before, and tied up in leaves. This will keep sweet for two or three days, but gradually fermentation takes place, and at a week old, it has a not unpleasant sweetish acid taste. When ready for drinking, it is dissolved in cold water to a thin gruel. The taste for it is easily acquired, and I admit, I became very fond of it. It certainly does possess intoxicating properties, but I cannot conceive how any civilized stomach could accommodate a sufficient quantity to produce exhilaration. Still I have seen Indians very happy from its effects. But since I desire these notes to be believed, I do not dare to state the quantity I have seen one of these fellows drink. Were only half the truth told, it would appear incredible. The method of preparing the chicha for use in the house is slightly different. The paste is thinned at once, while yet hot. The plantain paste, also thinned, is poured into the earthen jar with it, and sufficient water is added to bring it to the proper thinness for drinking. To produce rapid fermentation another process is yet necessary, which I saw once at Dipuk on the Uren. A young girl (young girls only, with sound teeth perform this operation,) having previously rinsed her mouth with a little water, sat down on a low stool, with a pile of tender raw corn beside her, and a big calabash in her lap. She chewed, or rather bit the grains from the

252 [243] [412] [462] 279

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

412 shaped only by use. Cacao and maize are ground upon the surface of the metate with [252] a muller or mano, which is another, though smaller, natural waterworn bowlder.

On abandoned sites near Teliri river some crude three-legged stone metates were found (figs. 9, *a*, *b*, drawn from fragments), pecked from hard scoria. These are inferior to the beautiful "tiger" metates of Las [173] Mercedes; nevertheless, some of the Bribri believe that these fine metates were used by their ancestors. The Mercedes and Anita Grande sites also yielded some of the plain, three-legged metates, as well as those of the more ornate variety.

411 412 *Digging Stick or Warclub.*—Pl. XVII, *a*, represents a digging stick of narrow, paddle shape, made of "cacique" wood. While the natives said that this specimen was once used as an agricultural implement, some of them also declared that it had been employed as a warclub. They referred to the stick as a "macana," in which is recognized an implement equivalent to the Nahuatl *macuahuitl*, a warclub in which blades or spikes of obsidian were embedded.

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

courtesy of Professor Saville, from whose collection of prints it came. 481

Food.—Plantains are extensively used, and, eaten boiled, seem to form the staple diet of the Bribri. Bananas are also extensively eaten. According to Gabb,[19] the Indians roast green plantains as a substitute for bread, but when ripe they are roasted and eaten with chocolate, in order to sweeten the latter. They are also boiled green to eat with meat or corn. Ripe plantains are boiled, mashed, and mixed with equal quantities of corn-meal paste for cakes or chicha; sometimes this paste is diluted with water and made into a gruel. 262 252

Corn in a variety of colors is cultivated—red, white, blue, yellow, black, and purple. It is eaten when fresh, boiled in the ear; but it is generally dried, hulled, and ground to flour on a stone metate with a mano, or, as Gabb relates, on a flat slab from one of the buttresses of a ceiba tree, dressed smooth. The dry corn is soaked over night to soften it; it is then spread on the metate and crushed with the convex stone muller, which is rocked over it. The paste is then boiled,

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

252 and the mush, sweetened with boiled, ripe,
262 plantain paste, is made into cakes, rolled into plantain leaves, and baked in the ashes.

273 Chicha, the native intoxicant, is made from green corn bitten off the cob by the women and ejected into a calabash, the saliva aiding the process of fermentation. It was said that chicha is also made by chewing cakes of corn and plantain paste and placing the resultant mass in an earthen kettle containing boiled corn.

262 Sugar-cane and beans of various kinds are raised to a slight extent, and the pith of the cabbage palm and nuts of the pejiballe palm are eaten. Gabb speaks of the use of a variety of greens, or spinach, made of certain tender leaves.

272 Cacao is constantly on hand in every lodge as a food or a drink. It is dried and fermented, roasted, pounded with mortar and muller, and then made into cakes or paste and thus eaten, or into a bitter but stimulating drink. In making chocolate,
415 the receptacle is a *jicara*, or a calabash, to contain the paste, which is held upright in an hourglass-shaped standard called *salvilla*

226 used in the river for larger fish. The pejibaye part is fitted into the cane and tied with string. The string used for fishing is always made of *pita* (*Aechmea magdalenae* André) (see p. 15). Occasionally a bow is used to shoot the fish. The only difference between the arrow and the spear, is that the arrow has a trifle shorter shaft.

Crayfish and river crabs are caught by hand, chiefly by the young boys who remove the stones in the stream and catch the shell fish from under them. It is nothing unusual that a hundred or more are caught at one time, the result being enjoyed by practically the whole tribe.

252 [415] **Food Preparation.** The food of the *Boruca* is cooked in earthenware vessels, and, if the means of the family permit, in iron pots. These are placed on top of the three hearth stones, which are on the earthen floor, or on the *fogón*, or stove (see p. 12). For grinding grain, metates or grinding stones, called *tumbas* in Costa Rica, are used. These are natural boulders worn smooth on top. The grinding is done with a smaller flat stone with wide rounded edges. This stone is held up-right on the edges and is rolled from side to side, and not pushed backward and forward as in the greater part of Central America (see fig. 5, *a*). The small metates found in ancient graves are never used for corn, but frequently for grinding cacao, often with a pestle-like stone as the grinder.

[412]

264 415 When food is not taken by hand from the vessel in which it is cooked, it is served on cheap tin plates, or, in poorer households, in gourds (see p. 19), and eaten either with the fingers, a spoon, or a fork.

258 [263 484] One of the most important elements of food of the *Boruca* is salt (see p. 24). The *Boruca* make a trip to the coast yearly to extract the famous *sal de piedra*, or rock salt, which lasts indefinitely, and has a fishy strong flavor. This rock salt is made by gathering the driftwood on the beach and burning it. A *haba* (a large-holed basket made of a vine or tree fiber, see p. 15) is lined with leaves and hung over a clay vessel. The ashes are put into the *haba* and sea water poured over them. The residue from this filtering process falls into the clay pot. This residue is cooked until it is dry and then recooked, about three times in all. The result

258 is a rock-like mass with dark strata-like lines due to the ashes and sea sand. This rock salt is so hard that to procure salt for use it is necessary to scrape it with a sharp knife. A very little is sufficient as it is much stronger than ordinary salt. Rock salt, besides its general [754] use in cooking, is much sought after by sorceresses.

Occasionally, instead of making all their salt into rock salt, the *Boruca* extract the residue after the first cooking and put it in a gourd. This they put in the hot sun until the contents are thoroughly dried. The result is a softer, not so strong-flavored, and more easily used salt which is called in the Boruca tongue *kĵ-kɔg*. This literally translated means "salt liver," as it is softer than the rock salt, and liver is one of the softest elements of the body.

252 Although the *Boruca* do not make many tortillas, they distinguish between those made of old corn and those made of sprouted corn (*maiz nacido*). They also make tortillas from green plantains, and from the fruit of the wild *ojoche tree* (see p. 7). Atol is made from rice and corn, and given to the babies when they are weaned. When rice is not dried on hides, [251] it is hung from the ceiling over the stove and smoked dry. Then it is put into a wooden mortar and husked, to be boiled when needed.

Plaintains are roasted with and without the skin. They are also fried. Green plantains are peeled and placed on hides in the sun to dry. They are then kept in a knotted string bag (see p. 18) in the kitchen. When the plantain has hung for sufficient time to be very, very dry, it is ground to a fine powder and used as a flour for making tortillas or tamales. A wooden knife is always employed to cut the [412] dried plantains, because if a steel knife is used, a black stain results and the flour, consequently, is colored.

Hen eggs are generally eaten, but occasionally a man will bring crocodile eggs from the river. These are cooked with *guayabo* (guava) leaves (see p. 6) to take away the strong taste. Foodstuffs (see p. 7) such as mushrooms, hearts of palm, and flowers, including the blossoms of the papaya and the *poró* tree, are usually boiled, cut up, and mixed with hen eggs. Sometimes meat is substituted for the eggs. The cob-like inflorescence of various

252 palms are boiled and fried. Another generally liked food is the tender leaf of the bean vine. This is prepared either with eggs or in soup.

Meat, fowl, and fish are frequently wrapped in the leaves of the *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen). Another *Calathea* known as "black *bijagua*" is used interchangeably with the first kind. The food wrapped in the leaves is roasted on the hearth stones. There are various ways, however, of preparing different meats. Armadillo is often boiled or fried. Domestic and wild pig and venison are placed on top of three or four sticks over the hearth stones and roasted. Sometimes the flesh of these animals [251] is sun-dried and salted, or is smoked for preservation. Beef is almost never eaten, as the cattle the *Boruca* possess are not numerous and are in the hands of a very few; besides, since they are used for traction, they are economically too important to eat (see p. 23). Posole is a common dish and is made of dried meat, usually wild pig. The meat is chopped fine and cooked with corn. The combination is then ground. If this is boiled every night, it keeps for many days.

Shell fish is boiled, but fish, other than shell fish, is seldom eaten fresh. When it is, however, it is put into a soup, or roasted in leaves, or fried. As a rule the fish is cut into three [251] pieces and salted to be eaten when needed. If salt is not available, the fish is smoked and saved. Smoked fish is said to be excellent for [757] diarrhea.

372 **Fire-making.** The majority of the *Boruca* use matches, although a few of the older people occasionally use two sticks to start a fire. This is accomplished by taking a stick of pejibaye and rubbing it around and around in a small hole in a stick of *guácimo* (*Guazuma ulmifolia* Lam.), until sparks set the *guácimo* on fire. Some of the elders still talk of the stones which were formerly rubbed together to start fire, using a piece of cotton as a wick. These are not seen today.

In the bush, or in the fields, fire, which is all important among the *Boruca* for clearing purposes, is kept in an old tree trunk from day to day. This is done by throwing ashes over and around the fire to keep the embers hot and alive, much as is done in New England fireplaces at present.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

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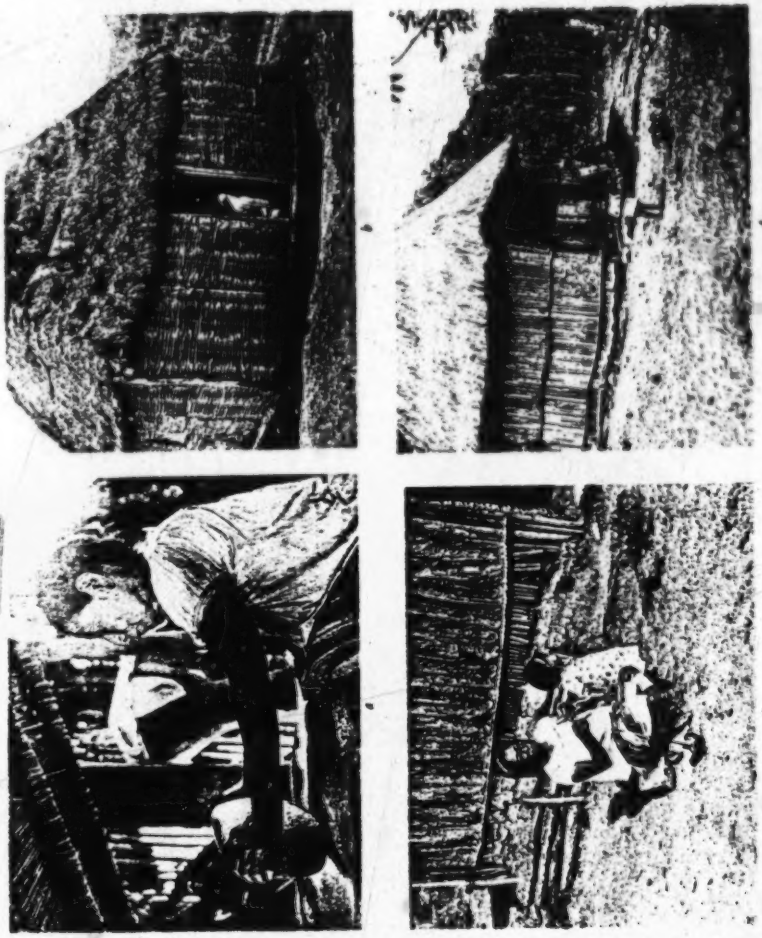

a, Method of grinding corn. b, Single pole as base of house (note window on left, and yuca for chicha hanging on front wall). c, House base of earth with wooden pole support (woman seated on low stool making thread). d, Front stone terrace, Cairo.

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better-suited for raising fowl, but is domesticated in Talamanca, where its principal diet consists of roaches. Ducks also are not common, and there is no native word for them nor for turkey. When found, they are kept inside the large house in a small compartment.

Cattle are owned by only a few on the Coen River and lower Talamanca. On both sides of the range they are kept more as a bank account than for food. Milk is not used. In Ujarrás, Salitre, and Cabagra oxen are used for riding or carrying burdens on their backs (fig. 2, *d*).[1/4] In Ujarrás, wild cattle, most of which belong to the church or, better said, to St. Vincent, the patron of the community, roam the savannas. This is a vestige of the ancient tithe and the animals are used only when the priest pays his yearly visit. On this occasion, the required number of steers for a communal feast are shot with bow and arrow. The cattle in Ujarrás that do not belong to the church are the property of three inhabitants who sell them when necessity demands. Chickens, swine, and steers are eaten on special occasions such as "juntas" (*see* Reunions) and death feasts (*see* Death and Burial).

There are no horses in Chirripó or upper Talamanca, and only one or two in the Sixaola Valley. In 1956, there were two horses at Salitre, one at Cabagra, two at Ujarrás, and two at China Kichá.

Wild Foods. The diet of the Bribri and the Cabécares is supplemented by many noncultivated foods. In the list below, we cite only those which we were able to have identified by their Latin names.[71]

The fruit of *Renealmia exaltata* (Aubl.) Griseb is generally fried in lard. The red flower of *Erythrina costaricensis* Micheli, the leaves and the tender part of the vine *Cyclanthera Naudiniana* Cogn., the sprouts of the female palm *Chamaedorea* sp., the leaves and tender shoots of *Phytolacca rivinoides* Kunth & Bouche, and a juvenile fern are boiled. The grainlike fruit of *Urera baccifera* (L.) Gaud is used as a substitute for rice. The wild papaya

partes Plátanos y yucas. . . ." There is no mention of maize at all.

[70] Stone, 1956.

[71] Dr. Paul J. Shanks helped to gather and to classify these foods.

1/4 [see category 116 - END PLATE 1 - ANALYST]

262 (*Carica* sp.), the melonlike fruit of the vine
137 *Passiflora vitifolia* HBK and the fruit of the
252 guava (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.) are eaten raw.

Palmitos of various classes including the bitter and sweet are roasted, baked in ashes, or eaten raw. Wild cacao (*Theobroma simiarum* Donnell-Smith and *Theobroma angustifolium* Moc. & Sesse) and *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor* Humb. & Bonpl.) are used like the cultivated cacao. Certain white mushrooms which grow on old tree trunks are also boiled and eaten.

262 **Food Animals (Hunting).** Many wild animals
136 are consumed by the Talamancans including monkeys, *guatusa* (*Dasyprocta* sp.), rabbits, boars (*Tayassu pecari spiradens* Goldman), pigs (*Pecari tajacu cruspiger* Bangs), deer (*Mazama americana cerasina* Hollister), and tapir, in spite of the fact that certain groups still maintain food tabus (*see* Tabus). The
224 favorite way to hunt is with one or more com-
[231] panions and with dogs. There are other methods, however, still in practice.

411 The most common equipment consists of the *pejibaye* or black palm bow, arrow, and blow gun (fig. 3, *c*).[1] The bow is relatively short, measuring around 2.35 meters, and is held in a horizontal position, the finger pulling the string (fig. 3, *a–b*).[1] Arrowheads are thrust into a wild cane shaft as far as possible, fastened with wax, and tied with *pita* (agave thread) (*see* Fibers) so that when the arrow is shot
224 the head is not lost. For jaguars and other
411 large animals, the heads are made of metal (usually an old knife blade) and of *pejibaye*
[223] palm. For birds and small animals, there are barbed, straight, and stunning heads all made of *pejibaye* or black palm.

[223] Blow guns are also used for birds and small animals. They are from 5 feet 7 inches to 5
411 feet 10 inches or more in length. When pos-
824 sible, they are made of *morkí*[72] (*Saurauia costaricensis* Donnell-Smith), although *kurá* wood is sometimes used. Wood for blow guns
[821] is cut at the wane of the moon as it is sup-
322 posedly less pulpy at that time. The method of manufacture is simple. The piece of wood

[192] [72] It is interesting to note that gun or rifle is called in Chirripó *mogLɔ* meaning literally "blow gun stick"; in Cabécar *sakámogLɔ* or "our place rifle" or

[1] [see category 116, END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*).[½] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwɔkri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

● 252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

½ [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in
[177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 412 [171] The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes*, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*).[1] These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done
[171] by pushing forward and pulling backward as in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 **Fire-making.** Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of
[824] cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

1 [See category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

354 **Furnishings.** In Talamanca, Chirripó, and Cabagra the hearth is made by placing tree trunks on the dirt floor with their ends together. The fire is kept going continuously and is not extinguished but covered with ashes when the family leave. During the night, someone shoves a trunk nearer to the center as it burns. In the large houses of the Bribri, there is a hearth for each wife (figs. 4, *c*; 6, *d*). This [252] is where she cooks for herself and her children as well as her husband. No house was seen with more than two hearths among the Cabécares (fig. 4, *d*). Over these fires wooden rods are suspended from the roof beams by pieces of *burio* (*Tiliaceae* sp., *see* Fibers). From these 251 rods hangs whatever needs drying, such as meat, seeds (usually in white *bijagua* leaves but occasionally in corn shucks), salt in black [824] *bijagua* (*Calathea* spp.) leaves, cacao pods for planting, plantains or bananas for ripening, 231 etc. A piece of hide from cattle or wild game is also hung from one of the rods and is used as food for the ever-present dogs when fresh 415 meat is lacking. Small *bavas*,[1] made by men and 824 women from the vine called *kugaca* in Cabécar and *bejuco de hombre* in Spanish, or carrying nets made by women from *guarumo* (*Cecropia* spp.) fiber, are also suspended from the rods. They contain packages of salt wrapped in *bijagua* leaves and cacao pods. Hanging 352 shelves, called in Spanish *tabancos*, are rarely 177 seen in the large house. The fact that in Talamanca there is no word to designate these [192] shelves, other than the Bribri *koṇ*, meaning "place," suggests that here is a borrowed item, probably from the mestizos.

353 In this type of dwelling, the roof beams are important. Almost all things necessary for the family are stuck at random between the rungs of the roof construction or are hung from them (fig. 8, *a–c*). These necessities include food such as grains and fruits; carrying nets containing dried meat and tied tight with the stem of a plantain leaf; sieves made from gourds; forked sticks for lifting cooking vessels; sticks with a number of little branches left [272] for stirring chocolate; wooden spoons for stirring; chicken and wild turkey bones; hunting trophies; yeast for chicha wrapped in *bijagua* leaves; net bags with clay for making blow

[192] [1] "It is interesting to note that *kaLwa* is the word used in the upper Coen. It has a marked resemblance

1/4 [to a carrying baskets– ANALYST]

352 sufficient for an adult to sit in, is an important item of trade. They are found in Cabécar, Térraba, and Boruca households (*see* Trade).

286 [177] **Weaving.** The art of weaving was possibly borrowed by the Bribri from other cultures. It is practically non-existent today and does not appear to have been practised by the Cabécares in historical times. Gabb [91] gives a detailed account of the technique and mentions belts, burial cloths for bones, breechcloths, and "women's petticoats." Undoubtedly, skirts are meant and not underwear. Skinner cites headbands and blankets.[92] The only evidence of actual Bribri weaving known to the writer are belts, made by some men on the upper Lari and at Cabagra, and four skirts, made by women who claim to have been taught by the Borucas. The Bribri weave is distinguished by its coarseness. The decoration [531] of the skirts consists of wide brown and white stripes which suggest a relationship with that of the Borucas.

415 824 **Gourds.** Gourds are employed as water jars, containers, and cups for liquids of any kind; as receptacles, often with a *pita* handle for hanging on the wall; for carrying seeds when planting; and as sieves, in particular for making [252] *pejibaye* flour. Pieces of gourds are sometimes 264 used as spoons to dish out food and occa- 534 sionally to eat with. Rattles are also made.

[531] The gourds are generally plain, and when decorated, the designs are crude cuts or child-like drawings. The holes in the sieves are made [322] with a metal point attached to a wooden handle.

323 **Pottery.** Today, only in the region of the upper Lari is there any attempt at pottery making. Here the Bribri are said still to fashion the large clay chicha jars seen in the round houses (*see* Furnishings; fig. 4, *c*) by coiling. This process is described in detail by Skinner.[93] 273 Chicha is generally kept in leaf-lined *bavas* or in large wooden troughs.

501 824 **Canoes.** The Talamanca Bribri are the only people to make canoes. Cedar, *espavel* (*Ana-*

[91] Skinner, 1920, pp. 77–78. The writer has a large brown and white blanket made by the Bribri men about 1900.

[92] Skinner, 1920, pp. 67–68.

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381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle hide among these people. The Cabécares of the [231] Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca, [415] make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of [824] deer hide are used for minute bags which [777] contain good luck seeds to put on children's necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly [292] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary [534] hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is 824 tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F. Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches (*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a variety of uses many of which have been mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the [252] Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often made of wood and are large enough for several women to use at the same time. They are located beside a water hole or stream and are balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side, [415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs, [273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice, [412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are [415] common. These last two items are used for [251] drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste [252] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique* sticks are an important part of the medicine man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used (*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed 287 for food preparation and the manufacture of bark cloth.

* 539 warns when it is going to rain by howling in
825 the morning and in the afternoon.
[821]

(17) Why the Cuyeo[202] Has a Tightly Closed Beak[203]

(Bribri)

Once *sibu* became ill and he sent the *cuyeo* to find out if he would get well. The bird took it upon himself to consult no one but to tell *sibu* that the answer was he would die. As a punishment for this, he, *sibu*, pressed the cuyeo's beak tightly shut.

RECREATION

574 of food and drink will be offered them. Con-
484 versation, in this case, is confined almost en-
[521] tirely to the men or if there are women with the travelers, they speak separately with the women of the household.

517 Hunting and fishing may in a sense be classed
224 as recreation for the men as well as part of
226 their livelihood. Here again, except in the rare instances of community use of fish poisons, it is a family matter.

296 Women and young girls of the same family,
● 252 particularly among the Bribri, are fond of gathering at the side of a stream to wash
[481] clothes and grind foodstuffs. They swim and
533 sing, praising in their songs the virtues of their
[574] respective swains (*see* Songs). This is the closest these people come to what might be termed a normal visit.

195 Cursing is not usual. The worst phrase a Bribri can use against another is:

bé	*rər*	*webLa*	*suLue*	*es*	*béwa*	*bəmitsɛn.*
you	are	man	bad	like	devil	take (carry off).

The really unpleasant word here is *suLue* which means bad or ugly and is applied as a curse. A milder term is *bikési* which means useless, lazy, or coward. In Cabécar, however, the equivalent of this is *səkəɲé* which is a very strong term.

496 **Reunions.** Reunions, although pre-Columbian
574
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[202] *See* Linguistic Texts: *lipə* (coyeo).

6: Stone E-5 (1956-1959) 1962

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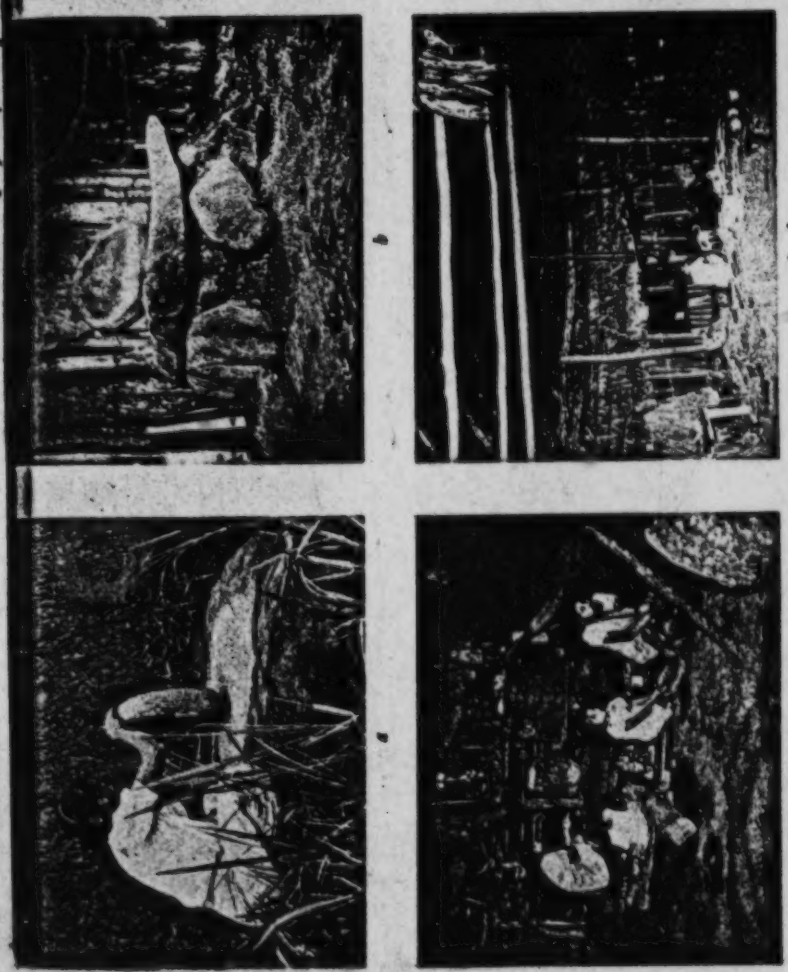

4, Natural smiling stone in a house. A, Natural smiling stone in a house. 6, One of four hearths within a Bribri round house, Talamanca. d, One of two hearths within a Cabécar round house, Talamanca.

[END PLATE 3]